

Legislative Research
SAFLL-2

January 1962

Congressional Information

Name: Symington, Stuart - Democrat - Senator from Missouri

Home: Richmond Heights, St. Louis, Missouri

Born: In Amherst, Mass. - June 26, 1901

Education: Yale University, 1923 (A.B.)

Marital Status: to former Evelyn Wadsworth (daughter of former Sen. James W. Wadsworth of NY). Two sons -- Stuart and James.

Military: enlisted in Army at age of 17 - World War I

Profession: Government administrator and businessman

Background: started in steel business as a molder. Became president of Emerson Electric Manufacturing Co. of St. Louis. Studied airplane armament for War Department (1941). Entered Government service July 16, 1945 serving successively as Chairman of Surplus Property Board; Assistant Secretary of War for Air; Secretary of the AF; Chairman of National Security Resources Board; Administrator of RFC. Elected to US Senate on November 4, 1952. Re-elected in November 1958 for term ending January 3, 1965.

Bases: Richard-Gebaur and Whiteman AF Bases (MINUTEMAN Sites)

Member: Episcopal Church
Masons

Committees: Armed Services (Subcommittees: Preparedness Investigating; National Stockpile, Chairman; Cold War Menace; Aircraft Procurement Reprogramming Request, Chairman)

Aeronautical and Space Sciences

Foreign Relations (Subcommittees: Disarmament; State Department Organization; Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Chairman; Ex Officio: Subcommittee on Department of Defense Appropriations, Subcommittee on Military Construction)

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Remarks: Many times pointed out that Soviet's air strength has rapidly been overcoming any qualitative lead we may have had.

He Chaired the 1956 Airpower Investigation hearings wherein he developed testimony supporting airpower boost.

In 1959 he offered an amendment for Army procurement funds (rifles etc,) to the FY60 DOD budget. This was rejected.

For many years he has expressed concern over available airlift.

He has urged, introduced bills, and voted for unification of the Services. On February 1, 1960 he introduced S. 2957 to amend the National Security Act of 1947 which would, he stated, (1) make mandatory a single overall war plan; (2) require that defense budget be tailored to that plan; (3) require establishment of integrated and unified commands; (4) increase flexibility of the assignment and transfer of military personnel within and among the Services; (5) require appointment of a single chief of staff for the Defense Department; (6) abolish the positions of secretaries of the military departments and establish an Under Secretary for each; (7) increase authority of the Secretary of Defense. (Congressional Record February 1, 1960 Page 1485)

When Mr. Kennedy was nominated Democratic Presidential candidate he nominated Sen. Symington to replan the organization of the DOD and to report by January 1961 in event of a Democratic victory. Sen. Symington appointed 5 lawyers with previous Government experience to a special committee to review the organization and management of the defense structure. He said the committee would not conduct a new study but would use findings of previous investigatory bodies as a primary source of facts.

Composition of the committee:

Clark M. Clifford (former special counsel in Truman Administration)

Thomas K. Finletter (former Secretary of AF)

Roswell L. Gilpatric (former Undersecretary of the AF)

Fowler Hamilton (former special assistant to the Attorney General and general counsel of the 1956 Airpower Senate Hearings)

Marx Leva (former special assistant to the Secretary of Navy and general counsel to the Secretary of Defense)

Dr. Edward C. Welsh (former Legislative Assistant to Sen. Symington)

Unlike his bill S. 2957 the Committee recommended against Under Secretaries for Army, Navy, and Air. Committee believed this would only perpetuate Service differences. It suggested discontinuance of the dual system of civilian and military chiefs.

Sen. Symington said there has been a flow of criticism "from a group which invariably opposes any change of any kind in the current structure of the Defense Department." Said a large majority of the editorial comment has favored the report. (Congressional Record February 9, 1961 Page 1831)

Has long contended -- much waste, duplication, and traditionalism in DOD. (Page 345 - Part 2 - Major Defense Matters 1959 hearings)

Missile Gap - has been particularly concerned about gap. Has made many Senate speeches and talks throughout the country re: Soviet-US strength.

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During 1960 Joint Hearings on Missiles, Space, and Other Major Defense Matters - said what upset him was testimony about a revised way of estimating intelligence, namely, intention as against capability, that Russians were doing a lot less now in missiles or planned to do less than they did before -- fact is he said, they are doing more.

On the Senate floor he said American people are being enticed down the trail of insecurity by the issuance of misinformation about our deterrent power -- specifically about the missile gap. (Congressional Record January 27, 1960 Page 1235)

Following several exchanges back and forth for several months he said no one had refuted his facts. Agreed we can negotiate from strength now but if our policies are not changed we shall not be the strongest Nation.

Inserted into the Congressional Record General Power's January 19, 1960 speech appealing for airborne alert -- 300 missiles could destroy our deterrent striking force. Discussed need for B-70: used it as an example of cancellation for fiscal reasons; if this not corrected we will in effect pass leadership in commercial aviation to the Soviets. (Congressional Record March 2, 1960 Page 3866)

On February 19, 1960 recommended: (1) adequate airborne alert; (2) accelerate Polaris and ICBM programs; (3) speed up ICBM hardening and dispersal programs; (4) increase anti-sub warfare capability; (5) reverse decision to, in effect, cancel out the B-70; (6) modernize and increase mobility of Army and Marine Corps. (Congressional Record Page 2759)

During 1960 Joint Hearings on Major Defense Matters -- B-47 more than 10 years old -- queried Gens. Power and White to bring out need for B-58 and B-70. Brought out statement from Gen. Twining that he hated to see B-70 delayed. (February 6, 1960 Page 378)

In Adm. Burke testimony, consistently supported Polaris because the Admiral recommended it. But, what worries him is the decision on the B-70. If not changed will mean end of manned aircraft development. "The Congress is being asked, apparently with the approval of the Joint Chiefs, to end research and development on additional manned aircraft in the AF at the same time we are being asked to put a great many billion dollars into the Polaris. . . If we are going to give up the development of the manned aircraft, we ought to face up to its implications. We are going to give it up for the AF ultimately, and all Naval air with it, unless there is a continued development." (Page 336) Can't understand business of billions into something that goes no faster than the fastest ship at sea today and cutting out completely all manned aircraft that can go at speeds of many thousands of miles an hour, maybe much more than mach 3. Supports Polaris but is still a believer in airpower -- Army airpower, AF airpower, Navy airpower, and commercial airpower.

On Senate floor - May 23, 1960 -- called for \$3½ billion increase over and above budget request for the air alert, B-70, Army personnel increase and modernization, increase Marines, anti-sub warfare, accelerate Atlas-Titan, Minuteman, Polaris, Hound Dog, and Sky-bolt programs. (Page 9995)

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FY60 DOD Budget Floor Debate -- prepared amendments to increase funds for Army modernization; anti-sub warfare; airborne alert, development and procurement of strategic missiles. Would not offer them because, he said, they had already been turned down in Committee. But warned present budget not adequate. (June 16, 1960 Page 11962)

August 26, 1960 floor speech - repeated criticism of administration's policy - introduced a resolution which, in effect, stated it the sense of Senate that expenditure ceilings on high priority defense projects be removed. Said that statements in Secretary Defense Gates' letters to Sen. Johnson were misleading - "Even if these funds were released today by the President, there would still be a substantial shortage of what is needed." (Page 16536) On August 29, 1960 he challenged Senator Keatings' (NY) statements re: 1946-52 figures on long-range ballistic missile program. Reminded Keating that former Assistant Secretary of Defense Gardner had resigned early in 1956 because of insufficient time, attention, and money for important programs. (P 16843)

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87th Congress - Legislative Comments

Missile Capabilities -- vis a vis Soviet and US - (debate with Sens. Dirksen, Jackson, Cooper, and Humphrey). Dirksen wanted clarification - referred to Sec. McNamara's press conference. Sen. Symington inserted Baltimore Sun article "Kennedy Awaiting Pentagon's 'Missile Gap' Report, Promises to Give Congress Data US Lag Exists--Weapons Judgment Would Be Premature Now, President Says--Russell Calls Rocket Lag Real But Denies Concern." Symington referred also to Kennedy's State of Union Message where "he said he wanted to promptly accelerate our missile programs." (Congressional Record February 9, 1961 Page 1856-62)

On February 22, 1961 again spoke on 'missile gap'. To prevent further misinterpretations, said there is a long-range ballistic missile gap -- and will be for some time to come. Said this was admitted by S/Def. McElroy early in 1959 and by Sec./Def Gates in 1960. Predicted closed hearings will bear this out. Agree with strong limited war force and advocates it -- but parts company when they try to strengthen their case by ignoring the great dangers, real and psychological, from standpoint of diplomacy, that have resulted, and can only continue, if we continue our failure to match Russians in development and deployment of long-range missiles. (Congressional Record Page 2395)

Space - (Aviation Daily report Nov. 6, 1959) - leans toward a broad and basic overhauling of entire space structure under single chief. This, he said, was as a result of his 1959 hearings on Government Organization for Space Activities. In his report he recommended administrative action concerning space roles and missions of the Services and ARPA - to avoid duplication. (Senate Report 806, 86th Congress)

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Defense Mismanagement - discussed Navy aircraft procurement practices. (Cong.Rec. March 3, 1961 Page 2886). Presented evidence (GAO reports) of comparable waste in AF practices. (March 8, 1961 P 3139) Said: The greatest savings, I am convinced, are to be found through the elimination of duplication in weapons systems.

United Press-7 report- Sen. Symington accused the Air Force today of 'wasting' \$183 million a year to give flight pay to doctors, lawyers, chaplains, and other nonflying specialists. Symington said the AF grants proficiency flight pay to 27,000 officers who are not needed as pilots. (March 7, 1961)

Civil Defense - re: Sen. Young's (Ohio) adverse remarks (memo April 21, 1961) on civil defense. Symington said he does not necessarily agree with all the conclusions but is confident basic position is sound. (Cong.Record April 24, 1961 Page 6161)

Procurement Authorization - Excerpts from Hearings -- S. 1852 --

Told Sec. McNamara he is pleased with the Secretary's actions in regard to Defense organization. Have been long overdue. Decisions such as ARDC and AMC inside AF could not be more constructive. (Page 54 April 1961) Symington also said: "I think we made a mistake in the degree to which we controlled the military in the space picture." (Page 57)

Security Leaks -- attributed this to service rivalry. "Unless you (McNamara) continue with your fine program to become a civilian authority in the Pentagon Building, the real authority, the competing Services are never going to stop these leaks." (Page 123)

During AF portion he brought matter of 3 speeds: Polaris, B-52, and B-70. Said: "I do not argue against the Polaris. The record will show I have always been for it. . . Is not speed still important?" (Page 339)

Texas Tower - disaster, he said, once again clearly illustrates waste and tragedy from arbitrary compartmentalization of the Services. (Cong.Record June 29, 1961 Page 10839)

Space - urged support of President Kennedy's program. Said reason for much of our failure lies in the functioning of the DOD -- which he said is shackled to an antique organization structure. Two fundamental reasons for space lag (1) lack of clearly defined objectives for space exploration; and (2) constant power struggle within DOD. Lack of a collective national space effort, he averred, regardless of amount of money expended, will never lead us in space. (Cong.Record June 26, 1961 Page 10491)

Foreign Plane Production - made inquiry on \$200 million order for Canada re: production of F-104G for use by NATO countries. Criticized lack of notice of transaction or comment of any kind to Senate Foreign Relations Committee, although letter was sent to Armed Services Committee. (Cong.Record June 13, 1961 Page 9504)

General LeMay - appointment to be AF Chief of Staff: "As head of the Strategic Air Command more than any other man he is the one any possible aggressor has considered with apprehension during the past decade of the cold war. Able, forthright, dedicated, America is fortunate to have his extraordinary capacity for courageous leadership recognized by the President." (Cong.Rec. June 6, 1961 P 8888)

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Believes there's an organized effort on the part of some in the military to attack their civilian superiors under "the vicious cloak of anonymity."
(Congressional Record May 26, 1961 Page 8488)

Excerpts from Military Procurement Authorization Hearings FY62:

B-70 - thinks a B-70 with a Skybolt better weapon than subsonic B-52.
(P 339)

MATS - glad to see Gen. Bradley buying the C-130E after all the years of discussion. (Page 424)

Thrust - thinks we are behind the Soviets in thrust today because of the ridiculous decision restricting Army about how far they could develop ground to ground missiles. (Page 158)

Unification - directed to Mr. McNamara: never has been in favor of a single unit not in a single service from standpoint of eliminating identity of services. Is primarily interested in eliminating two people doing what one can do. (Page 55)

Security Leaks - service rivalry a cause. (Page 123)

Advertising - thinks cost for military weapons can be controlled by disallowing advertising it as a cost of the project. (Page 125)

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Soviet Airpower - reference to new Soviet planes -- hopes we're not outmaneuvered in nuclear field as we have been outraded seriously in manned aircraft field. Said American people have been led to believe Soviets were turning away from manned aircraft -- that they would concentrate on missiles. Said we've been hoodwinked for some 4 or 5 years as to some of the major plans for Soviet build-up. Said we've systematically over last 4 or 5 years eliminated development of more modern aircraft, especially fighters "to the point where now the only combat plane left anywhere near production is the B-70; and plans for that have been heavily reduced." (Congressional Record July 18, 1961 Page 11734)

Supersonic Transport - his amendment to the Independent Offices FY62 budget to eliminate \$12 million in bill for development of a civil supersonic aircraft was rejected (35-35 vote). Reason he opposed was military's decision not to develop a weapons system plane; yet here we are to spend millions upon millions to develop a civil aircraft. Said: "I would not protest this item if it was not for the fact that I do not see how the Government could refuse to acquiesce, which it is doing, in the development of a weapons system for the B-70, a military mach 3 aircraft, at the same time it subsidizes for industry a comparable commercial mach 3 aircraft. That sums it up." (Congressional Record July 31, 1961 Page 13027)

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Excerpts from US Foreign Policy Hearings (Feb. 3, 1961) Senate Foreign Relations Committee --

USSR Arms Modernization -- generally agreed now that Soviets leapfrogged the long-range bomber development to go into long-range missiles - result: they're ahead in the long-range missile. Now they are concentrating on modernizing, concentrating on limited war potential. (P 303)

Tactical Nuclear -- asked Mr. Wolfers - what is your definition of a tactical, nuclear weapon, in a blast capacity. Mr. Wolfers said it is that which is limited to areas other than the US and the Soviet Union. (But he could not answer amount of nuclear weapon in tons, kilotons) (Page 312)

Strategic Stability -- asked Mr. Wolfers -- "As I see it, the basis of much of your presentation this morning was that there was a certain stability looming up in the strategic picture. There could be several ways that strategic stability could be broken." i.e. if some enemy got a defensive protection against missiles, that mutation, he said, in itself, would destroy the strategic stability would it not? -- another case would be if you had many more members of the nuclear club -- that would destroy stability to some extent, might it not? (Page 301)

Excerpts from S. 1983, International and Development Hearings May 1961 - Senate Foreign Relations Committee --

Spoke of growing unemployment - can't imagine anything more negative in his State toward support of the foreign aid program than the creation on our part, along with all assistance we are putting up for the underdeveloped countries, of situations abroad which give jobs over there, to countries now prosperous at the cost of jobs over here. (P 712)

MAAG Program -- Asked Gen. Miller why we don't cut down on some of the MAAG strength by teaching some of the people of the NATO countries how to train others in their countries? (P 717)

Military Aid -- is a complete believer in supplying military assistance, with two reservations. Thinks it ought to be primarily conventional and thinks we ought to supply it first to our own people. "That is one of the reasons it is most unfortunate the Armed Services Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee do not get together on an overall coordinated plan as to the taxpayer's defense dollar, especially as it is advertised that this foreign military aid is done in close conjunction with our national military requirements." On the other hand he believes more emphasis be given to economic aid to other countries. (P 763)

Policy -- said military is only one square on the checkerboard of national policy; and therefore, at least in peacetime, is subject to the overall approval and direction of the D/of State, subject of course to the President. (P 879)

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Tactical and Strategic Nuclear Weapons -- discussed meaning of with Mr. Kohler (A/Sec of State for European Affairs). Mr. Kohler agreed that as General Norstad says, the line between tactical and strategic is a thin one. (P 710)

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